Baile Coola Indians- Chapter III
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As with names, the ~~property rights~~ easiest way to understand the property rights of the ancestral family in land, is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed ~~when the first~~ at the coming of the white men, ~~went to Bella Coola.~~ ~~On first coming to this~~ On ~~arrival on~~ coming to this earth the first people prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and olachen could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. ~~These they pre-empted as~~ Here they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, and on which they ~~the~~ thenceforth subsisted in accordance ~~xxxxxx hunting-~~grounds, ~~free to the members of such group, but forbidden to others.~~ with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-emptied these areas for themselves. Waste land, far removed from any village was, and still, is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain Äl-quntäm who allotted and marked the land which was the property of each village; ~~it~~ at that time a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. The writer did not hear of a similar myth for either Bella Coola or Täl'io, although the concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

The reader who has grasped the somewhat abstruse concept of the names of an ancestral family will have little difficulty in understanding the system of land tenure. ~~Land~~ Hunting and collecting grounds taken possession of by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is so'lolam, also called, sexsnemsta, which means, "Food supply."

It will thus be seen that a hunting-area is not the property of any one indi-

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vidual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single ~~village~~ town. [redacted] (temporarily,) The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, exclusive, but ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ some of whom may be inhabitants of villages at ~~some~~ a distance. ~~As but only temporarily so,~~ rights to the hunting-ground as, with names, there is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property which are strictly his, if they are located at a distan~~t village.~~ce. Thus several ~~informants~~ men claim that they ~~have the~~ are legal ~~right~~ by entitled to hunt at Kitlobe~~, for example~~, but from mere difficulty of access ~~there~~ neither they, nor their fathers, have exercised the right, and ~~unquestionably~~ it would ~~be~~ have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the utter decay of custom which has followed the ~~incursion~~ advent of the white man. ~~For all Practical purposes,~~ Practically, a man hunts only in ~~those hunting-~~ the grounds ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ [redacted] of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member, whether or not he holds a duly validated name from ~~their~~ its origin myth. ~~There~~ It is not necess~~ity of validating~~ary to confirm the right to ~~a hunting-ground~~ property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that ~~area~~ ~~name~~ designation belongs.

~~1186~~ middle

Although ~~the~~ ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is~~, none the less,~~ a matter of great pride to ~~a man to be feel that he~~ to have rights in many ~~areas.~~ places. The efforts of an individual to make good those ~~rights~~ claims has ~~often~~ ~~in many cases~~ led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent ~~informant~~ old man stated that ~~land~~ property disputes were the principal cause for war in British Columbia. A ~~man~~ person who lacks hunting-grounds is little better than a slave, ~~and conversely a man~~ whereas on ~~the other hand~~ one who ~~feels himself to have~~ has much land is important.

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1185 middle Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical import-

disputes were the principal cause for war in British Columbia. A man ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ who lacks hunting-grounds is little better than a slave, and conversely a man who feels himself to have much land is important.

~~One of the most important concepts of~~ The Bella Coola ~~with~~ regard ~~to~~ land ~~is~~ as ~~that it is~~ almost inalienable. A man has the prerogative of using ~~his wife's land~~ the land of his wife's ancestral family, but it is not his own, though his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is not hers. A guest at a village may be allowed to use the land of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old days wars between the coastal tribes were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; ~~the writer heard no account of the capture of land~~; such is unthinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the writer's informants asked him to explain how it had been possible, in the late world war, for the allies, ~~whom~~ whose cause they believed to be righteous, to take land from Germany. If the victors had killed ~~of~~ or enslaved the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was most improper.

Since land ~~xxxxx~~ is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it follows that it ~~was~~ is not divided into small areas. Any man ~~could~~ can build his house at will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobey the fruitful crab-apple trees are the property of different ancestral families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It

may ~~might here~~ be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naively assume that all other coastal tribes have ancestral families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them ~~these other tribes~~ also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their own ~~Bella Coola~~ social system. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of agriculture, a system of individual ownership in cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man expends labour in clearing and cultivating a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this land to whom~~ever~~ he pleases ~~likes~~. Likewise a man who cuts a tree to kill it for firewood is regarded as the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which the writer does not believe was taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any un~~old~~-pre-empted land, far removed from a village, could be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a so'lolam belonging to any ancestral group, hence it is free to all. One corner of the reserve includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of Tcumo·tl. An Indian, whose ancestral family lived in ~~at~~ that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in this corner of the reserve for a number of years, without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family.

Theoretically, it is possible for an ancestral family to die out. The writer received several accounts of old men who, believing themselves to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and combatted the claims of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

The following is an instance of a ~~the~~ feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

About seventy-five years ago the people of Tcawat (probably Bute Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the Tcawat River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola who often hunted in that area. So it

transpired. The woman was found by the mother's father of my informant who carefully looked after ~~the woman~~ her during the time that he was hunting beaver, and brought her back with him to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitute her father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her rescuer the hunting-area known as Nut'am, near Kwatna Inlet. In so doing he acted with the consent of the members of his ancestral family, and the land so alienated should have remained permanently in the possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family. ~~permanently~~. But the hunting-ground, far removed from Bella Coola, could not be used regularly enough by the new owners ~~Bella Coola~~ to maintain their right to it, and, after the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family laid claim to the hunting-ground. On one occasion, ~~[illegible]~~ many years later, after ~~the~~ white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to Nut'am and killed a large number of beaver. As he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white man this incident would undoubtedly have led to war. My informant still feels that he has every right to hunt at Nut'am, in fact he did so several times when he was a young man, but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed, a condition which cannot be ascribed to white influence.

It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella where there is every reason to believe that the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to state with accuracy what right the Bella Bella chief had to dispose of the land. My informant simply assumed as a matter of course that he must have been ~~[illegible]~~ so powerful that he could dictate to his followers, an unknown possibility in Bella Coola. None the less the incident is valuable, since the Bella Coola informant regards it as typical of what would be likely to happen should a Bella Coola try to give away land. ~~Through~~ Impelled by motives of generosity or gratitude, old men have sometimes done so, but always they have forgotten someone, perhaps a mere infant, who on growing up lays claim to the so'lolam.

Hunting-grounds are not the only valuable parts of the country. Even more im-

portant, hunting grounds are stretches of river suitable for salmon-weirs, ~~Of the same type are~~ good places for olachen nets, and rocks from which these fish can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these ~~were~~ are said to have been pre-empted by the first people and have passed ~~(1)~~ into the ownership of the ancestral families descended from them. ~~It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing of~~ rights to property of this kind in distant areas, ~~since the principle is~~ have lapsed in the ~~same as that~~ already described for land.

~~(1.)~~ Several Bella Coola myths describe how the first comers brought with them from above stone hammers for ~~the~~ constructing ~~of~~ fish-dams, and how others were provided with miniature dams which grew larger when placed in position. Mr. H. I. Smith kindly gave the writer the following account, received from an elderly Bella Coola:

Long, long ago a certain Tamukua lived with his father, the Sun, who decided to send his child to earth. He came down to Stuex, carrying a stone beneath his arm-pit, and accompanied by a Wolf. Tamukua made the stone into a pile-driver, with a face sculptured upon it, and with this tool drove piles to make a fish-weir. After a while a number of human beings came paddling up ~~the~~ Bella Coola River. In course of time the Wolf returned above, but Tamukua remained on earth catching salmon, and teaching the people the method which was in use until the last few years.

portant ~~xxxxxx~~ are stretches of the river suitable for salmon-weirs. ~~With these~~ Of the same type ~~can be included~~ are good places for olachen-nets, and rocks where these fish ~~x~~ can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these were pre-empted by the first people and have passed into the ownership of the ancestral families~~x~~ descended from them. It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing which follows ownership rights in a ~~xxxxxxxx~~ distant area, since the principle is ~~that which has~~ the one already been described.

In one respect, ~~howeverm~~ salmon-weirs differ from hunting-areas, since ~~it is~~ ~~assumed~~ considered ~~that~~ the latter can be used by any number of individuals, whereas the number of salmon traps possible at ~~any~~ one weir is limited. Again the mythological origin must be given to explain the customary usage. If, for example, a salmon-weir supposedly built by one of the first groups of people ~~to populate this earth~~ were was fully manned in the third generation by ten individuals, it is assumed that ten ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ is the largest number of traps possible at ~~that weir~~ it. ~~And~~ Those who have the right to ~~use~~ that weir are ~~xxxxx~~ the members of the ancestral family ~~who use~~ with the names of those first users. At this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythological pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; ~~at the time that~~ when one broke, ~~it might happen that~~ the ~~proper~~ owners were in some ~~times~~ cases infants, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the ~~real owners~~ rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of ~~the~~ abandoning ~~of~~ the weirs, ~~x xxxxxx~~ was that individuals, ~~xxx~~ not groups, had rights to certain sections ~~of the weir~~ which were willable ~~xx~~ like other personal property. In ~~some~~ most cases this right was transmitted with a name, which had to be duly validated by ~~the transmission of goods~~ presents. ~~to~~ ~~in~~ In other cases, ~~no name was necessary since it was recognized that the bestower had full right to that part of the weir in virtue of the work which he, or a near relative, had contributed to the construction.~~ the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatever.[1] ~~(1)~~. Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were ~~frequent~~ in any. Such rights were never sold, ~~outer~~ although an owner often leased his section ~~(1)~~ ~~Unless willed, disputes were frequent.~~ ~~Rights of this kind were never sold although~~ in many cases ~~An owner frequently leased his right for~~ ~~often~~ for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was planning to give a potlatch. ~~The writer~~ was heard of No case in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this would be possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most

(1). ~~The writer had~~ Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, ~~the writer would not be surprised if~~ there ~~were~~ may be further regulations, ~~which he failed to learn.~~ ~~not~~ ~~[illegible]~~

is recognized

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serves as a check on the price.

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~~unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common-sense.~~

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a tribe, ~~that is~~ divided into clans or land owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its extreme intangibility. So the writer found it when investigating in the field. When the first information began to accumulate he fully expected to find some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family. Every effort was made to discover these, but without result. Without asking a direct questions the point was raised whether, if a man was killed, would the members of his ancestral family unite to avenge him? Conversely, they were liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; the matter concerns only his immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, but to do so is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of the ancestral family, but this is rarely practised, and if so is functionless. (1). It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible either to prove or to deny such a contention, but the writer feels it to be at least equally possible that if the Bella Coola have at any time been in contact with a people using the classificatory system, they may have adopted from their neighbours the practice of the wide application of names, and given them to their social unit most nearly resembling a clan. When trying to discover whether the members of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby one of their fellows established himself as a chief the writer received the following interesting comment. The previous winter my informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom my informant quoted as follows:—

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be a chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

My informant agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was a fundamental

difference between the practices of the two tribes.

It is possible that the recent decay of all Bella Coola culture has destroyed traces of more definite obligations with respect to the ancestral family. But the writer feels confident that it has always been a fluid unit. None the less, intangible though it be, it is a real unit in the eyes of the Bella Coola. Its very lack of functions make it difficult to discuss, and the above account was pieced together from scraps of information collected from many informants at different times, yet it pervades Bella Coola life. Each individual knows those to whom he is related. Often the exact kinship is lost, but it is remembered that a man from such-and-such a village married a woman from another village, and it is proved from the use by their descendants of names from the same origin myth. The concept of the physical strength imparted by a closely akin ancestry is always present, and it is that which gives a person real "power" in the village founded by those first ancestors of his. For the ancestral family is usually thought of in terms of villages. A man belongs to the village where his first ancestor came to earth, though he is equally a member of other villages into which his ancestors may have married. A man without ancestry, without <u>so'lolәm</u>, is a miserable creature, his home is nowhere, neither actually in this world, nor theoretically in the world to come. The ancestral family is a unit essentially held together by the ties of sentiment and pride of ancestry.

In addition to the above social elements of the ancestral family, it is felt that all of its members have certain tendencies. If one of the first ancestors had a certain physical peculiarity, or met with a particular kind of fortune, either good or bad, his descendants are more likely to experience the same than any other people. These tendencies may skip many generations, may be inherited either through the mother or the father. In fact, Bella Coola belief on this point closely agrees with modern theories of heredity.(1). Such characteristics are:—

1. Proficiency in using tools.

(1). The Bella Coola term for such an inheritable tendency is <u>osäloxläm</u> or <u>ιxäxsnιxdjut</u>.

2. Ability as a hunter.

3. The bearing of exceptionally well behaved children.

4. The bearing of exceptionally ~~naughty~~ children.

5. Disposition to steal.

6. Uncontrollable sexual desires.

7. Sudden death, that is, members of ~~the~~ certain ancestral families ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~die~~ are less apt than others to die of disease, or of old age.

8. Death by drowning. One of my informants, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner.

9. ~~Xxxxxxxx~~ Insanity. This is not a common malady.

10. Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age.

11. Liability to contract the skin disease known as ~~loi-lx~~. With regard to ~~this~~ the transmission of this disease the writer received the following surprising information. If a relative of a sufferer should drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another person can use them with impunity. It seems clear that this statement must be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although the writer is ~~quite~~ puzzled to know how the theory of germs reached his elderly Indian informant. It is possible that this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissability of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence.

In a later chapter an account ~~xxxxxx~~ is given of certain occupational abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be duly confirmed and validated by ~~xxxx~~ presents. ~~xxxxxx~~ The above are quite different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual.

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY (10 ph. [illegible])

The village community, referred to in the preceding section, consists of the descendants, in the patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, the village community is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant settlement in many cases describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the white man came, village sites were abandoned and people took up residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps explain why many villages are described as two and have two names. In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants could boast to them of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process of close intermarriage. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same town, which would lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely the members of ancestral family. In addition there are always other occupants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring

of illicit intercourse with slaves, guests, ~~and~~ foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily resident in Bella Coola, and finally slaves, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to dwell in a ~~new village~~ place village, ~~would~~ usually endeavors to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral ~~xxxx~~ family occupying ~~the village~~ it, ~~and thus~~ in order to establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always, related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. ~~and~~ If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, ~~punishing some breach of ceremonial custom~~, all the inhabitants ~~of the village~~ suffer equally. On the other hand, if the ~~inhabitants of a village~~ residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ follows his own inclination, and if he decides to stay at home, it is his own affair. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ rests on ~~the~~ his immediate family, not ~~upon~~ the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder; but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were usually on friendly terms and ~~xxxxxxx~~ often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a Bella Bella war-party, about to attack S nxx, passed within a quarter of a mile of Qomqo'ts without ~~the~~ its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

As far as internal organization is concerned the village is as fluid a unit as most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has ~~xxxx~~ attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (1) he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men ~~are of~~ have approximately the same ~~rank~~ importance there is no dominant chief. In any case, he lacks ~~any~~ executive authority and such obedience as ~~is paid to him~~ he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the ~~xx~~ eldest of the first group of settlers, the first

(1). See next chapter.

chief, but his is not sufficient to warrant the title of X "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial matters, and the village comprises a unit for all dances; in fact this ceremonial unity is the most important function of the village.

With the exception of a few villages built on the sea-shore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built type typical of the North-west coast. In front of them stretches a side-walk, usually supported by piles on the outside nearest the river to make it level, ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. The houses, too, have often piles beneath their front, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the small-pox epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty of forty, others only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone can build where there is a vacant space. Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, around which is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions forming bed-rooms for the different families, or different members of the same family. Frequently the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which the different families cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families, smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and anyone present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with carved upright

posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in the dances. In front of each house rises a short totem-pole, either pierced for the door-way, or standing on the opposite side of the side-walk.

THE FAMILY

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. This is certainly the case among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bed-rooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, naturally follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, often to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing. It is needless to elaborate this subject, since the life in which they have their being, and which they automatically absorb, will become clear in the course of this monograph.

As far as functional training is concerned, only two kinds need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember his debts (1), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their innate elements

(1) The method is described on page .

on which success depends. These can be made more powerful ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible], according to the Bella Coola, is not the result of training or ability, but rather is some characteristic granted by the supernatural and brought to fruition~~ by magical means or the ritual acts of relatives. Although in many case these ~~[illegible]~~ entail great labors and expense, ~~[illegible]~~ parents seldom neglect their duty; ~~in such~~ care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods ~~in which it is displayed~~ used are so foreign to the white man that he ~~tends to fail~~ has difficulty in realizing their meaning. ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible] the source of the [illegible], for [illegible] of the [illegible] is to deal with the fo[illegible] and [illegible] [illegible].~~ The hope of both parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown, and the death of an infant is counted almost as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are ~~frequent~~ common causes for divorce.

At the present time there is a ~~[illegible]~~ high birth rate in Bella Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any ~~great~~ appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, ~~[illegible]~~ were always large families, ~~[illegible]~~ ~~although such evidence cannot be considered reliable.~~ ~~[illegible]~~ not exaggerated in this statement. In families where there are several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, occupies a important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and ~~but~~ the parents foster this through the very teaching that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, ~~the influence of~~ the oldest of a family continues to have considerable ~~weight~~ influence with younger brothers and sisters.

If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife, and his family circle will be limited to their children, ~~but~~ and perhaps to ~~[illegible]~~ every parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and powerful man usually has ~~a [illegible] larger family, not only may he have~~ several wives, ~~and~~ his aged relatives and those of his wife, look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their ~~aged~~ old relatives, (1). The married son of a chief usually live in his house,

(1). This is not true of the present. When the writer was in Bella Coola during the winter of 1923-24 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food.

Stet - Case and type

and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. ~~In~~ Such a ~~xxxxxx~~ man is at the zenith of ~~his~~ power, surrounded by a close group, formed ~~of~~ elderly relatives, ~~of his~~ children, and grandchildren. ~~Relatives~~ Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, ~~for example,~~ one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family.

~~Another way in which~~ a rich man can also increase ~~the size of~~ his family ~~is~~ by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant in many cases ~~often arrange to~~ adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents ~~are xxxxxxy willing, since they~~ know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do, and thus desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the ~~x~~ child, so that he ~~it really~~ becomes a member of two families. This is often done by a lonely old couple whose ~~own~~ children have married and moved away, ~~and who thus find themselves lonely~~. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ~~its~~ ancestors. "Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a ~~term of~~ reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative will ~~is~~ almost always ~~ready to~~ adopt him. ~~the child~~. Consequently ~~In this case~~, as he ~~it~~ grows up, he ~~it is able to~~ receives his ~~its~~ full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so ~~that~~ ~~in fact~~ the loss of his ~~its~~ own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally ~~it happens that~~ a child is not adopted by relatives, and ~~that~~ then his ~~in which case its~~ fate is indeed hard. Ignorant of his ~~its~~ ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them ~~i~~ even if someone should tell them to him ~~it~~, owning no hunting-grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the ~~extremely~~ rare

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~~Disliked and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several of my informants pointed out how, in the old days, such an one could have found shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man.~~

contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, ~~yet the~~ many Bella Coola ~~have kindly dispositions~~ are charitable and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant without reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned ~~to the writer~~ how his mother and a Chilcotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near Nusqalst. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the babe, whom he brought back, ~~saying that he would~~ to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, ~~giving each a breast~~, and treated the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, ~~and then~~ he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years ~~years~~ later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chilcotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

~~contingency of a child being left without relatives.~~

Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister my informant was in Bella Bella and there saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled ~~the deceased.~~ her. He desired to adopt her, and ~~being~~ since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. X TO legalize the transaction he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella, and thus incorporated the woman into his family. A person so adopted does not usually ~~take up~~ change his ~~or her~~ abode, ~~with her adopted family,~~ nor does he lose membership in his own family. Instead, he becomes a member of two families, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman ~~failed~~ did not to show any interest in her adopted relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When my informant dies, his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself ~~interested in the affair.~~ appreciative of her adoption.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family varies according to the wealth and influence of the father. ~~And~~ ~~Accordingly~~ Consequently, the number of individuals who function as members of the family vary. Their duties are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine ~~duties~~ of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of fire-wood, repair of the house, ~~obtaining~~ acquisition (obtaining) of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they are willing to do on all occasions of that kind, since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent their ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how

many individuals are affected by this depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the ~~death~~ killing of a child, living with its parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to ~~interfere.~~ retaliate If an adult person is murdered his, or her, brothers are the ones who feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the actual murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured ~~party~~ group is satisfied by the killing of one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition governs. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common-sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A man's brother, living in another village than that of the murderer, would not be held liable. On the other hand, more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in a blood feud. A death is answered by a death, if two persons should be slain for one murder the family which had suffered the double loss endeavors to kill another of their enemies. In case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, ~~and~~ but if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual offender, since it is obvious that otherwise the loss would fall equally on the injured party. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge is a matter that concerns only the immediate family.

Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons share the family life of the individual, and it is they alone who are held to account, ~~and~~ or they alone who demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bi-lateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.